were neither universally understood nor uniformly followed, but we did not find proof that the DNC or its officials participated in a criminal *quid pro quo* arrangement relating to political contributions and Administration actions in this matter.

1) DNC Finance Policies on Administration Contacts

The obvious focus of the DNC Finance Division's efforts was raising money, and cultivating relationships that would help achieve that goal. Yet, during the same time frame as the O'Connor and Kitto meetings with Fowler and Mercer at the DNC, evidence suggests that DNC finance staff felt frustrated by the reluctance of Administration personnel to assist "money person[s]" by setting up meetings for DNC donors or "being associated with finance." In several March 1995 memoranda addressing issues relating to servicing its members, finance staff advocated developing a more supportive and proactive DNC role on behalf of donors. Since one of the "benefits" offered to DNC Fund Council members at that time was the use of the Fund Council "to help them set up meetings with the administration, agencies, and Members of Congress," one Fund Council director suggested that it would be helpful to have a person designated at the White House "whose only job is to take care of DNC donors." Several senior finance staffers extolled the need to "foster a sense of advocacy" in relation to finance donors, so

²⁵⁹Memorandum from Fran Wakem to David Mercer, March 13, 1995.

²⁶⁰Memorandum from David Mercer, Fran Wakem, Ari Swiller, Jennifer Scully and Peter O'Keefe to Finance Chairman Truman Arnold and Richard Sullivan, March 14, 1995.

²⁶¹Memorandum from Fran Wakem to David Mercer, March 13, 1995.